

Message Text

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ORIGIN EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 IO-13 H-01 ISO-00 SIG-03 ACDA-12 PA-01
INR-10 NSAE-00 PM-05 SS-15 NSCE-00 SSO-00 INRE-00
AID-05 TRSE-00 L-03 OMB-01 EB-08 /090 R

DRAFTED BY EUR/SE:GWCHAPMAN:LB
APPROVED BY EUR/SE:RCEWING
H:NCLEDSKY
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O R 120009Z MAY 78
FM SECSTATE WASHDC
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AMEMBASSY BONN
USMISSION USUN NEW YORK
SECDEF WASHDC 0000
CIA WASHDC 0000
JCS WASH 0000

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, GR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATION TESTIMONY ON GREECE, TURKEY AND
CYPRUS BEFORE SFRC
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REF: A) STATE 88830 B) STATE 89227 C) STATE 89228

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM MAY 2 TESTIMONY BEFORE SFRC.
EXTRACTS ARE FROM UNOFFICIAL, PRELIMINARY TRANSCRIPT, WHICH
HAS NOT YET BEEN REVIEWED BY SFRC OR DEPARTMENT. AS TRANS-
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LIC FOR SOME TIME, FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE FOR ADDRESSEES' INFORMATION ONLY.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF EXTRACTS:

CHAIRMAN SPARKMAN: IF THE EMBARGO IS REPEALED AND TURKEY REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE ON CYPRUS IN GOOD FAITH, WHAT MECHANISM WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO HELP SETTLE THE DISPUTE IN CYPRUS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: MR. CHAIRMAN, ONE OF THE ASPECTS OF OUR PROPOSALS WITH RESPECT TO TURKEY WHICH MUST BE KEPT IN MIND AND IN FULL VIEW IS THAT WE WILL NO LONGER BE PROPOSING A FOUR-YEAR DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY WHICH WOULD HAVE HAD A DOLS 1 BILLION PRICE TAG. RATHER, WE WILL BE PUTTING OUR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY ON A PERIODIC BASIS SO THAT IF PROGRESS IS NOT MADE IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION, CONGRESS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT UPON THAT FACT AND INDICATE ITS DISPLEASURE IF IT WISHES TO DO SO IN CONNECTION WITH FUTURE GRANTS OF AID OR FMS CREDITS TO TURKEY.

SO, I WOULD SAY THAT THERE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONGRESS TO EXPRESS ON AN ANNUAL BASIS ITS VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO PROGRESS ON CYPRUS.

SENATOR CASE: WE HAVE HAD AN EMBARGO, A LIMITED ONE, UNDER LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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WHICH TURKEY WAS SUPPOSED TO NOT INCREASE ITS MILITARY OR CIVILIAN FORCES ON CYPRUS IN RECENT MONTHS. THEY HAVE BEEN IN FORCE IN THE LAW SINCE 1974. YET, YESTERDAY IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" THERE WAS A REPORT THAT 30,000 MAINLAND TURKS HAVE BEEN RESETTLED IN CYPRUS SINCE 1974.

WOULD YOU TELL US SOMETHING ABOUT THAT, PLEASE.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR CASE, I DID NOT SEE THE STORY YESTERDAY. BUT WITH RESPECT TO MILITARY FORCES ON CYPRUS, THEY REMAIN AT ABOUT A 30,000 LEVEL. A FEW HUNDRED HAVE BEEN DRAWN DOWN RECENTLY; BUT THAT LEVEL HAS REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME.

WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENTS IN CYPRUS, OUR INFORMATION IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO ORGANIZED PROGRAM OF SETTLEMENTS BY THE TURKS IN THE GREEK AREAS OF CYPRUS. SO, OUR INFORMATION SIMPLY WOULD BE DIFFERENT THAN THAT WHICH YOU HAVE QUOTED FROM YESTERDAY'S "NEW YORK TIMES."

SENATOR CASE: WELL, I AM NOT SURE THAT THERE IS AN IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCE. YOU QUALIFIED YOUR STATEMENT WHEN

YOU SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO "ORGANIZED" PROGRAM OF SETTLEMENT. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE UNORGANIZED PROGRAM OR THE FACT OF SETTLEMENT?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR CASE, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A CHANCE TO PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION TO YOU ON THAT SUBJECT.

BUT THE FACT IS, AS WE KNOW IT, THAT THE TURKS HAVE NOT DONE PARTICULARLY WELL ON CYPRUS. THE GREEKS HAVE PROSPERED A GREAT DEAL MORE IN THEIR ECONOMY AND IN THEIR DEVELOPMENTS ON CYPRUS OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS THAN HAVE THE TURKS.

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3. SEN. PELL: I SHARE A REAL INTEREST IN CYPRUS. I HAVE BEEN THERE PERSONALLY. I COME OUT WITH A CONCLUSION THAT

IS DIFFERENT, I AM AFRAID, FROM THAT OF THE WITNESSES WITH US TODAY.

WHAT I SEE HERE IS, ONCE AGAIN, THE SUBORDINATION OF PRINCIPLE TO EXPEDIENCY.....

I THINK THE ESSENCE OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM IS IN THE CONTINUED ILLEGAL USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS IN CYPRUS. THAT QUESTION HAS REALLY NOT BEEN FACED UP TO. AS SOON AS THOSE WEAPONS ARE WITHDRAWN, I THINK THEN WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD. BUT AS LONG AS THEY ARE ILLEGALLY BEING USED IN THAT OCCUPATION, THAT IS THE KEY POINT. IF WE ARE GOING TO GO AHEAD WITH OTHER PROGRAMS, WE MUST FEEL THAT OUR LAW HAS CERTAIN TEETH.....

ABSOLUTELY NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN TERMS OF TURKEY'S OCCUPATION OF CYPRUS AND THE ILLEGAL USE OF OUR ARMS.

NOW, HOW CAN THE RULE OF LAW BE UPHELD IF WE NOW IGNORE THE LAW THAT LED TO THE ARMS CUTOFF IN THE FIRST PLACE?.... WHY SHOULD WE SUBORDINATE PRINCIPLE TO EXPEDIENCY AND PERMIT THE CONTINUED USE OF AMERICAN ARMS IN VIOLATION OF THAT AGREEMENT IN CYPRUS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR PELL, IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT WE HAVE MADE OUR POINT OF PRINCIPLE, THAT THE ENACTMENT OF THE EMBARGO AND ITS EFFECT OVER NEARLY A FOUR YEAR PERIOD HAS ESTABLISHED THAT COUNTRIES CANNOT, WITH IMPUNITY, VIOLATE THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

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WE THINK THERE COMES A TIME WHEN THE CARRYING FORWARD OF THAT KIND OF PUNITIVE ACTION BECOMES NO LONGER USEFUL AND INDEED BECOMES COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I THINK IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF I CALLED ATTENTION TO THE COMMENT OF FORMER UNDER SECRETARY GEORGE BALL, WHO ADDRESSED THIS SUBJECT, PERHAPS FROM THE STAND-POINT OF THE IMPARTIALITY OF BEING OUT OF OFFICE, IN A LETTER THAT HE SENT TO THE COMMITTEE.

THIS IS WHAT FORMER UNDER SECRETARY BALL SAID:

"TO MY MIND, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT BY WITHHOLDING ARMS FROM TURKEY FOR FOUR YEARS, THE UNITED STATES HAS EMPHATICALLY ESTABLISHED THAT WE TAKE SERIOUSLY THE RESTRICTIONS WE IMPOSE ON THE USE OF SUCH ARMS. TURKEY HAS MADE CLEAR BY HER COMPLAINTS THAT THIS DENIAL HAS BEEN PAINFUL."

SO, I BELIEVE WE HAVE MADE OUR POINT OF PRINCIPLE, AND WE OUGHT NOW TO MOVE TO THE LARGER GOAL OF FINDING THE BEST TACTICS THAT WE CAN, SENATOR PELL, TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS.

SENATOR PELL: YOU MENTIONED THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, CHARACTERIZED BY SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM AS USEFUL.

SECRETARY BROWN: "SUBSTANTIAL" I THINK WAS THE WORD.

SENATOR PELL: YES, "SUBSTANTIAL."

WHAT WAS THE EXACT PERCENTAGE OF LAND THAT WAS INVOLVED IN THAT WHICH TURKEY SAID IT WOULD CONSIDER TURNING BACK? MY RECOLLECTION IS THAT IT WAS 1 PERCENT. AM I WRONG?

SECRETARY BROWN: IT WAS NO MORE THAN A FEW PERCENT.

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SENATOR PELL: WAS IT MORE THAN 1 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AREA?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR PELL, WE DO NOT HAVE THE TURKISH PROPOSALS IN GREAT DETAIL; WE ARE DEALING FROM SUMMARIES OF THEM.

OUR BEST INFORMATION IS THAT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL WOULD BRING THE LAND AREA DOWN FROM ABOUT 36 PERCENT, WHERE IT IS NOW, TO 32 PERCENT, A REDUCTION OF ABOUT 4 PERCENT.

IF I MAY, SENATOR, I WOULD LIKE TO GO A STEP FURTHER WITH RESPECT TO THE TURKISH PROPOSALS.

BOTH THE TURKS AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE STRESSED THAT THESE NEW PROPOSALS SHOULD BE VIEWED ONLY AS A STARTING POINT FOR THE TALKS. THEY ARE NOT, IN ANY CASE, THE OUTER NEGOTIATING LIMIT FOR THE TURKISH SIDE.

INDEED, THEY HAVE GIVEN STRONG ASSURANCES THAT THEY WILL APPROACH RENEWED TALKS WITH A FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ON ALL OF THE ISSUES. THEY ARE PREPARED FOR A REAL DIALOGUE. ON THE KEY AND SENSITIVE ISSUE OF VAROSHA, WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE TURKISH SIDE ENVISAGES THE RETURN OF 30,000 TO 35,000 GREEK CYPRIOT INHABITANTS OF THAT CITY, WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE EVEN BEFORE A FINAL SETTLEMENT IS REACHED.

WE HAVE ALSO BEEN INFORMED THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT POSITION AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF THAT IMPORTANT

CITY OF VAROSHA IS NOT A RIGID ONE AND THAT THEY ARE QUITE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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READY TO CONSIDER VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES OR VARIOUS FORMULAE ONCE THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS ARE RECONVENED.

IT IS THOSE FACTORS, SENATOR PELL, WHICH I BELIEVE CAUSED THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO IDENTIFY THE PROPOSALS AS BEING CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIVE, AND IT IS THAT FLEXIBILITY, THAT LACK OF RIGIDITY, WHICH SEEMS TO US TO MAKE IT SO IMPORTANT THAT THE TALKS RECONVENE.

SENATOR PELL: AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND IN CONNECTION WITH HAVING SOME EFFECTIVENESS TO THE SANCTITY OF FUTURE AGREEMENTS THAT WE SIGN IN THIS REGARD, SHOULD THERE NOT BE A CONTINUED PRESSURE ON THE TURKS TO MOVE THEIR AMERICAN WEAPONS OUT OF CYPRUS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER:WE THINK IT WOULD BE VERY DESIRABLE TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS OF TURKISH TROOP LEVELS ON THE ISLAND. WE THINK THAT WOULD BE A POWERFUL IMPETUS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. WE THINK THAT IN CONNECTION WITH PROGRESS ON A SETTLEMENT, THERE WILL BE THAT KIND OF WITHDRAWAL.

SENATOR MCGOVERN:WITH REGARD TO THE NEGOTIATING PRINCIPLES THAT THE TURKS HAVE PUT FORWARD TO MR. WALDHEIM, I REALIZE, MR. SECRETARY, THAT YOU SAID YOU HAVE NOT EXAMINED THAT PROPOSAL OR HAVEN'T SEEN THE SPECIFICS OF IT. BUT DO YOU KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT IT TO GIVE THE COMMITTEE THE ADMINISTRATION'S ASSESSMENT OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES THAT THE TURKS HAVE PUT FORWARD TO MR. WALDHEIM?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: THE PROPOSALS FALL INTO THREE GENERAL CATEGORIES. FIRST, THERE IS A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS SIX OR SEVEN SPECIFIC AREAS. THEY HAVE SHOWN A RELUCTANCE TO DISCUSS PARTICULAR PERCENTAGES, BUT IT APPEARS FROM THE PROPOSALS THAT THEY WOULD REDUCE THE TURKISH ZONE FROM LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ABOUT 36 PERCENT TO 32 PERCENT.

NOW, IN THIS CONNECTION, THE TURKS HAVE STRESSED THEIR FLEXIBILITY.

SECOND, ON THE AREA OF VAROSHA, OR NEW FAMUGUSTA, THE PROPOSAL WOULD PERMIT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO RETURN TO THAT AREA. THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF THAT AREA IS OPEN TO NEGOTIATION. UNDER THE PROPOSALS, IT APPEARS THAT APPROXIMATELY 30,000 TO 35,000 GREEKS COULD RETURN TO THE AREA, EVEN WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROCESS.

FINALLY, THE THIRD LARGE CATEGORY IS THE CONSTITUTION. SOME RATHER COMPREHENSIVE IDEAS WERE PUT FORWARD. A FEDERAL STRUCTURE IS CLEARLY INVOLVED.

IN THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, THERE IS A RATHER HEAVY EMPHASIS ON THE EQUALITY BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. THIS IS, NO DOUBT, AN AREA WHERE THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

THAT IS OUR BEST APPRAISAL OF THE PROPOSALS AS THEY PRESENTLY STAND. BUT I WOULD EMPHASIZE AGAIN, AS THE TURKS HAVE DONE TO US, THAT WHAT THEY HAVE SAID IS ONLY A STARTING POINT AND NOT THE OUTER NEGOTIATING LIMITS.

SENATOR MCGOVERN: WELL, AS YOU KNOW, MR. SECRETARY, THE GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE REJECTED THE TURKISH PROPOSALS AS NOT PROVIDING A PROPER BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. HAS THERE BEEN ANY REACTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR MCGOVERN, MAY I JUST MAKE A MINOR CLARIFICATION IN WHAT YOU HAVE SAID? I BELIEVE THE GREEK LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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CYPRIOIS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY THOUGHT THE PROPOSALS WERE INADMISSIBLE, BUT THEY HAVE NOT COMPLETELY CLOSED THE DOOR. PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU HAS LEFT AN OPENING TO INDICATE THAT HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS IF IT WERE SO RECOMMENDED BY SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. WE HOPE THAT SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM, WHO HAS TAKEN SUCH A DEEP INTEREST IN THIS, WILL TAKE THOSE STEPS.

4. SENATOR MCGOVERN: (ASKS FOR WITNESSES REACTION TO PROPOSAL OUTLINED STATE 112288 PARA 6.)

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR MCGOVERN, ONE IS HESITANT TO COMMENT ON A REFINED AND ELABORATE PROPOSAL, CERTAINLY NOT OFF THE CUFF.

I WOULD SAY TO YOU THAT THERE ARE MANY THINGS IN WHAT YOU HAVE SAID THAT WE COULD FULLY EMBRACE, AND WE WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH YOU, YOUR STAFF, OR THE COMMITTEE STAFF TO SEE IF WE COULD NOT FORMULATE A SET OF PRINCIPLES.

I DO THINK WE SHOULD STOP SHORT OF TRYING TO TELL THE PARTIES ON CYPRUS HOW TO SOLVE THAT VERY DIFFICULT HISTORIC SET OF PROBLEMS. I THINK THE UNITED STATES SHOULD OFFER ITS GOOD OFFICES, SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE SECRETARY GENERAL; BUT I THINK THAT WHATEVER PRINCIPLES WERE LAID DOWN OUGHT TO STOP SHORT OF PROVIDING A FORMULA OR SETTING OURSELVES

UP AS THE ARBITER OF HOW THE THING SHOULD COME OUT ON CYPRUS.

BUT SHORT OF THAT, SENATOR, I WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH YOU AND WITH THE COMMITTEE ON STATING A SET OF PRINCIPLES AND PROVIDING FOR REGULAR REPORTS OF THE KIND YOU DESCRIBED.

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5. SENATOR PERCY: MY QUESTION TO THE FOUR OF YOU WOULD SIMPLY BE THIS. IF PRESIDENT CARTER'S REQUEST BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE THIS MORNING IS APPROVED BY THIS COMMITTEE, WHAT IS THE JUDGMENT OF EACH OF YOU AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE PROMPT AND ESSENTIALLY COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF (TURKISH) TROOPS FROM CYPRUS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED.

SECRETARY BROWN: I THINK THAT IT WILL NOT BE IMMEDIATE. I THINK THAT IT WILL MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD AND I THINK THAT THERE IS A REASONABLE EXPECTATION OF AN ULTIMATE RESOLUTION THAT WILL REMOVE THE TURKISH FORCES.

I AM CONVINCED THAT WITHOUT THIS MOVE, THE CHANCES OF A PROMPT TURKISH WITHDRAWAL OF ITS ARMED FORCES WITHOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EMBARGO ARE ABSOLUTELY ZERO AND THE CHANCES OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES FROM CYPRUS WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR PERCY, OF COURSE WE DON'T KNOW ALL THE REASONS WHY THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY MAINTAINS THE SIZE FORCE THAT IT PRESENTLY DOES ON CYPRUS. THERE ARE HISTORICAL FEELINGS OF INSECURITY THAT PLAY A PART HERE.

IN OUR OWN ESTIMATE, A SUBSTANTIALLY SMALLER FORCE WOULD APPEAR TO BE SUFFICIENT FOR THEIR PURPOSES.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THAT I CAN SAY IN RESPONSE TO YOUR QUESTION IS MY BELIEF, BASED UPON COMMENTS FROM THE TURKISH SIDE, THAT SUBSTANTIALLY ALL OF ITS FORCES, EXCEPT THOSE THAT WERE PERMITTED UNDER A SETTLEMENT ARRANGEMENT, WOULD BE WITHDRAWN UPON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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SETTLEMENT. I THINK THE FORCES THERE ARE VERY HEAVY DRAIN ON THE TURKISH ECONOMY, WHICH IS IN DIFFICULTY, AND I THINK THEY WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN A SETTLEMENT WOULD PERMIT THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OF ITS FORCES, EXCEPT THOSE WHICH WERE RETAINED THERE TO CARRY OUT THE GUARANTEES OF THE SETTLEMENT.

6. SENATOR CLARK: MR. SECRETARY, AM I CORRECT IN INTERPRETING YOUR ANSWER TO SENATOR PERCY A FEW MOMENTS AGO AS MEANING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION AGREES THAT TURKEY'S CURRENT OCCUPATION OF PARTS OF CYPRUS IS INCONSISTENT WITH U.S. LAW? (PREVIOUS ANSWER DID NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESS THIS ISSUE.)

MR. CHRISTOPHER: WHAT I MEANT TO INDICATE, SENATOR CLARK, WAS THAT I DID NOT DISPUTE THE 1974 OPINION OF THE COMPTROLLER-GENERAL THAT THE USE OF U.S. EQUIPMENT BY THE TURKS AT THAT TIME WAS A VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED STATES.

SENATOR CLARK: WHAT ABOUT THE PRESENT OCCUPATION?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: IN THE PRESENT OCCUPATION, SENATOR CLARK, WE DO NOT KNOW OF ANY TRANSFERS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE TO THAT AREA IN RECENT TIMES. THUS, OUR VIEW WOULD HAVE TO REST ON THE 1974 SITUATION, RATHER THAN ON ANY TRANSFERS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THAT TIME.

SENATOR CLARK: THE TRANSFER IN 1974, THEN, IS WHAT YOU ARE REFERRING TO?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: YES, SIR.

SENATOR CLARK: LET ME ASK YOU ANOTHER QUESTION WHICH IS MORE POLITICAL IN NATURE THAN IT IS TECHNICAL.

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THE PROPONENTS OF REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO SOMETIMES ARGUE THAT ONE OF THE REASONS FOR REPEAL IS THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT MIGHT INCREASINGLY TURN TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR OTHER KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS. YET, THE HISTORICAL FACTS AT LEAST ARE THAT TURKEY HAS HAD A GREAT FEAR OF THE SOVIET UNION, AT LEAST AS FAR BACK AS THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. THERE HAS BEEN A TRADITIONAL ENMITY THERE.

WHAT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP DOES TURKEY HAVE WITH THE SOVIET UNION TODAY? WHAT ARE THE DANGERS INVOLVED THERE, IF ANY.

SECRETARY BROWN: ON THE MILITARY SIDE, THERE HAS BEEN PRACTICALLY NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO DATE. I GUESS IN 1971, THE SOVIETS SOLD TURKEY 1,200 TRUCKS FOR DOLS 6 MILLION, AND SINCE 1974, TO THIS POINT, TURKEY HAS CONTINUOUSLY DENIED WHAT APPEAR TO BE SOVIET OFFERS, PRESUMABLY FOR SALE, OF HELICOPTERS AND LIGHT AIRCRAFT.

I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE TURKS AND THE RUSSIANS HAVE A CENTURIES OLD HISTORICAL ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP. YET, TURKEY CANNOT HELP BUT BE IMPRESSED BY THE MILITARY STRENGTH OF THE SOVIET UNION AND WANT TO AVOID WAR.

THE TURKISH APPROACHES HAVE BEEN TO TRY TO STABILIZE THE RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS. I WOULD SAY THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN ANY FALLING AWAY FROM THE NATO ALLIANCE, IT WOULD BE MORE ANALOGOUS TO WHAT THE U.S. HAS CALLED DETENTE AND TO WHAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WOULD CALL "OSTPOLITIK."

IF TURKEY DESPAIRS OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., I THINK THERE IS CERTAINLY A POSSIBILITY THAT IT WILL TURN
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TO A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I DON'T EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP. I THINK THAT WOULD COME HARD TO THE TURKS. BUT I THINK THEY MIGHT BE DRIVEN TO IT IF THEY COULD NOT GET SUPPLIES FROM OTHER NON-U.S. SOURCES.

THERE IS A VERY SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE RELATIONSHIP. TURKEY IS NOW A MAJOR RECIPIENT OF SOVIET ECONOMIC AID IN THE FORM OF CREDITS, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND LOW COST ELECTRICAL POWER. UNDER A 1976 AGREEMENT, THE SOVIETS WILL PROVIDE OVER DOLS 1 BILLION IN NEW CREDITS TO FINANCE CONSTRUCTION OF A COUPLE OF POWER PLANTS AND THEN AN OIL REFINERY, AS WELL AS EXPANDING A STEEL COMPLEX.

I THINK THAT ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS ARE NOT SOMETHING THAT WE SHOULD CONSIDER AS ADVERSE TO OUR INTEREST. I THINK THAT MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS, TO WHICH, AS I SAY, THEY COULD CONCEIVABLY BE DRIVEN, ARE ANOTHER MATTER, AND I WOULD BE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THOSE.

THE SOVIET CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, GENERAL OGARKOV JUST VISITED TURKEY. AGAIN, SUCH VISITS ARE BY THEMSELVES NOT A MAJOR FACTOR. BUT THEY DO INDICATE THAT THERE COULD BE A PROBLEM DEVELOPING THERE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW.

SENATOR CLARK: DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO ADD TO THAT, MR. SECRETARY?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: VERY LITTLE.

YOU ARE RIGHT ON YOUR HISTORY, AS YOU SO OFTEN ARE, SENATOR CLARK, AS TO THE HISTORIC SUSPICION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

I THINK THE POINT I WOULD WANT TO ADD TO WHAT SECRETARY BROWN HAS SAID IS THAT THERE ARE RELATIONSHIPS THAT ARE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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THIS SIDE OF A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TURKS AND THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH COULD CAUSE REAL TROUBLE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THAT AREA. IT IS NOT SOLELY A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION OF WHICH WE ARE APPREHENSIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE TURKS ADOPTED A NON-ALIGNED POSTURE, ONE IN WHICH THEY MOVED OUT OF THE NATO ORBIT AND AWAY FROM THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES, THAT

COULD HAVE AN EQUALLY SERIOUS IMPACT ON US BY REASON OF OUR BASES THERE AND BY REASON OF THE RELIANCE WE HAVE ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO.

SO, I DON'T THINK YOU HAVE TO MAKE THE SOVIET CASE BY ANY MEANS, IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THE REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO.

7. SENATOR BIDEN: (AFTER A LENTHY PROLOGUE.)

I DON'T QUITE UNDERSTAND HOW OUR OVERALL SITUATION IN THE SOUTHEAST FLANK OF NATO REALLY HAS MUCH OF A CHANCE OF BECOMING BETTER AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS ACTION (LIFTING OF EMBARGO), IF, IN FACT, SOMETHING WILL CONTINUE WHICH CONTINUES NOW. THE REAL CRUX OF THE PROBLEM BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY ISN'T JUST CYPRUS. IT IS THE AEGEAN AND SOME LONG-STANDING DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEY HAVE HAD. TURKEY HAS ARRAYED A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF ITS FORCE NOT ALONG THE RUSSIAN BORDER, BUT FACING GREECE, AND THEY HAVE A DIS-PROPORTIONATE PORTION OF THEIR FORCE IN CYPRUS.

WHAT IS TO INDICATE THAT ANY OF THAT WILL CHANGE?

FORGET CYPRUS FOR A MOMENT. WHAT IS TO INDICATE THAT SETTLING EVEN THE CYPRUS QUESTION WILL MAKE ANY SIGNIFICANT PROGRESS IN SETTLING THE OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY NOW?
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I THINK WHAT I AM SAYING IS IT SEEMS TO ME WE MAY BE JUMP-ING OUT OF THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE, TO USE AN OLD PROVERB, IN U.S. SECURITY INTEREST. THIS WOULD APPEAR ON ITS FACE TO BE GETTING STRONGER, BUT IT IS NOT GETTING STRONGER BECAUSE GREECE WOULD BE FORCED TO REACT IN A WAY SIMILAR TO THAT IN WHICH TURKEY REACTED, AND IN TURN, TUR-KEY WILL CONTINUE TO ARRAY ITS MILITARY MIGHT IN THE DI-RECTION OF GREECE, AND SO ON.

PERHAPS YOU COULD COMMENT ON THAT LITTLE LECTURE OF MINE.

AMBASSADOR CLIFFORD: SENATOR, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT GOING FROM THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE, I BELIEVE WE ARE NOW IN

THE FIRE AND I WOULD LIKE TO GET BACK INTO THE FRYING PAN.

(GENERAL LAUGHTER.)

SENATOR BIDEN: YOU CAME TO THE RIGHT PLACE.

AMBASSADOR CLIFFORD: THE FACT IS THAT WE CAN SPEND THE

REST OF THE DAY, THE REST OF THE WEEK, OR THE REST OF THE YEAR DEBATING ON WHAT THE POSSIBLE REACTION OF THE GREEK GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE, OR OF THE GREEK PEOPLE, OR OF THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, OR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, OR THE TURKISH PEOPLE. THIS IS AN ENORMOUSLY AND INCREDIBLY INVOLVED AND INTRICATE SET OF RELATIONSHIPS.

I BELIEVE THAT OUR JOINT RESPONSIBILITY IS TO SEE IF WE CAN CUT THROUGH ALL OF THOSE VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS AND DETERMINE WHAT KIND OF THREAT EXISTS TODAY TO THE SECURITY OF THE AREA. IT IS VERY CLEAR TO ME WHAT THAT THREAT IS. THE THREAT IS THAT THE MAJOR ANCHOR ON THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO IS NOT EQUIPPED TODAY TO MEET ITS NATO RESPONSIBILITY, AND THAT NATION IS TURKEY.

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IT HAS THE LARGEST STANDING ARMY OF ANY ONE OF OUR NATO ALLIES. THAT ARMY IS NOT PROPERLY EQUIPPED TODAY. THAT AIR FORCE IS NOT PROPERLY EQUIPPED. IT LACKS THE SPARE PARTS; IT LACKS THE NEW KINDS OF EQUIPMENT THAT WE CAN SUPPLY TO HELP MODERNIZE ITS EQUIPMENT.

I WOULD LIKE TO TRANSFER YOUR THINKING FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO TO THE NORTHERN END OF NATO. IF, FOR SOME REASON, NORWAY AND RELATED COUNTRIES AT THAT END OF THE NATO LINE BEGAN TO DETERIORATE BADLY, WE WOULD BE VERY CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE WARSAW PACT PRESSURES THAT MIGHT COME AT THAT END.

WE HAVE SPENT 30 YEARS, SENATOR, CAREFULLY GAUGING THE RESPECTIVE STRENGTHS OF OUR ALLIES IN NATO AND HELPING THEM KEEP UP THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. SO, I SAY THAT WHEN WE CLEARLY SEE THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR NATO ALLIES IS NOT DETERIORATING IN ITS MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY, WE REALLY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO BUILD THAT ALLY UP SO THAT IT CAN DO ITS JOB. IT IS MY FEELING THAT IF WE DO MEET THE PRESENT NEEDS THAT TURKEY HAS, I BELIEVE WE ASSURE TURKEY'S CONTINUED SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE WEST. I THINK WE ASSURE HER CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN NATO.

I MUST SAY TO YOU THAT I HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN UNDER-

STANDING FROM A LOGICAL STANDPOINT WHY THE GREEKS OBJECT TO THAT. I KNOW WHY THEY DO FORM A SENTIMENTAL AND EMOTIONAL STANDPOINT. BUT I SUGGEST TO YOU, SENATOR, THAT THE MOST DANGEROUS POSTURE THAT GREECE COULD BE PUT INTO TODAY WOULD BE IF TURKEY WITHDREW FROM THE NATO ALLIANCE. IT

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WOULD EXPOSE GREECE IN A MANNER THAT I THINK WOULD BE A GREAT SURPRISE AND A GREAT SHOCK AND A MATTER OF THE DEEPEST CONCERN TO ALL OF THE NATO ALLIES.

SO, I SAY THAT WHAT WE MUST DO IS MEET THAT RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE WISER HEADS IN GREECE WILL SEE THE NEED FOR TURKEY TO BE BUILT UP SO THAT IT CAN MEET ITS CONCERNS ON NATO.

I THINK AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE NOT PLAYING FAVORITES. THE TURKISH NEED IS INFINITELY GREATER THAN THE GREEK NEED. WE ARE ALLOWING DOLS 175 MILLION OF FMS CREDITS TO TURKEY AND DOLS 140 MILLION OF THOSE SAME CREDITS TO GREECE.

TO RECAPITULATE, I THINK WE MUST FACE THE STARK REALITY THAT OUR NATO AREA IN ONE SECTION IS BELOW PAR TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITY. I THINK WE HAVE ONLY ONE MOVE TO MAKE AND THAT IS TO CORRECT THAT CONDITION.

SENATOR SARBANES:AM I TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT KNOW THE NATURE OF THE TURKISH PROPOSALS THAT WERE SUBMITTED IN VIENNA TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: WE HAVE SEEN AN OUTLINE OF THEM, SENATOR, BUT THE PROPOSALS WERE HANDED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, KURT WALDHEIM, AND TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, AND WE HAVE NOT SEEN A FULL STATEMENT. WE HAVE ONLY SEEN A SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSALS.

EARLIER TODAY, PERHAPS WHEN YOU WERE NOT ABLE TO BE IN THE ROOM, I GAVE A SUMMARY OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR PRINCIPAL CONTENT. I DON'T THINK THAT IS FAR OFF THE MARK. BUT ON YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTION, NO, I HAVE NOT SEEN THE DETAILED PROPOSALS.

SENATOR SARBANES: THE "LONDON ECONOMIST", IN ITS ISSUE OF LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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APRIL 22, SAID THE FOLLOWING: "BUT IF THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION HAD IMAGINED THE LONG-DELAYED TURKISH PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS WOULD BE LARGE ENOUGH TO PERSUADE CONGRESS THAT MR. ECEVIT'S GOVERNMENT WAS SET ON A CONCILIATORY COURSE, IT WILL BE DISAPPOINTED. BY NO STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION CAN THEY BE DESCRIBED AS DEALING WITH CYPRUS IN A CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIAL WAY, AS MR. WALDHEIM WAS PERSUADED TO SAY

AFTER HE RECEIVED THEM IN VIENNA ON APRIL 13."

OF COURSE, THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE HAS SINCE ISSUED A STATEMENT IN WHICH IT SAID THAT THAT COMMENT CANNOT BE INTERPRETED AS EXPRESSING A JUDGMENT ON THE MERITS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS.

WHAT WAS THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL? WAS IT JUBILATION OR DISAPPOINTMENT?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: HOW DID THE DEPARTMENT REACT TO THE PROPOSAL--IS THAT YOUR QUESTION?

SENATOR SARBANES: I ASKED WHAT WAS THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION. OF COURSE, YOU DON'T NECESSARILY HAVE TO USE MY OPTIONS, BUT I DID GIVE YOU A COUPLE -- JUBILATION OR DISAPPOINTMENT.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I THINK THE DEPARTMENT FELT THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE A USEFUL STARTING POINT FOR THE NEGOTIATION; THAT THEY WERE NOT, AS THE TURKS THEMSELVES SAID, THE OUTER NEGOTIATING LIMIT, BUT THAT THEY PROVIDED ENOUGH SUBSTANCE SO THAT THE PARTIES COULD GET TOGETHER AND GET DOWN TO THE HARD NEGOTIATING AT THE TABLE WHICH WOULD PRODUCE A DRAWING TOGETHER, WHICH IS USUALLY THE FOUNDATION OF ALL AGREED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: PEPR, MASS, GR, TU, CY

SUBJECT: ADMINISTRATION TESTIMONY ON GREECE, TURKEY AND
CYPRUS BEFORE SFRC

REF: A) STATE 88830 B) STATE 89227 C) STATE 89228

1. FOLLOWING ARE EXTRACTS FROM MAY 2 TESTIMONY BEFORE SFRC.
EXTRACTS ARE FROM UNOFFICIAL, PRELIMINARY TRANSCRIPT, WHICH
HAS NOT YET BEEN REVIEWED BY SFRC OR DEPARTMENT. AS TRANS-
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CRIP T WAS SUPPLIED IN CONFIDENCE AND WILL NOT BE MADE PUB-
LIC FOR SOME TIME, FOLLOWING EXTRACTS ARE FOR ADDRESSEES'
INFORMATION ONLY.

2. BEGIN TEXT OF EXTRACTS:

CHAIRMAN SPARKMAN: IF THE EMBARGO IS REPEALED AND TURKEY
REFUSES TO NEGOTIATE ON CYPRUS IN GOOD FAITH, WHAT MECHANISM
WOULD BE AVAILABLE TO HELP SETTLE THE DISPUTE IN CYPRUS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: MR. CHAIRMAN, ONE OF THE ASPECTS OF OUR
PROPOSALS WITH RESPECT TO TURKEY WHICH MUST BE KEPT IN MIND
AND IN FULL VIEW IS THAT WE WILL NO LONGER BE PROPOSING A
FOUR-YEAR DEFENSE COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH TURKEY WHICH
WOULD HAVE HAD A DOLS 1 BILLION PRICE TAG. RATHER, WE WILL
BE PUTTING OUR RELATIONS WITH TURKEY ON A PERIODIC BASIS SO
THAT IF PROGRESS IS NOT MADE IN THE CYPRUS SITUATION, CON-
GRESS WILL HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO REFLECT UPON THAT FACT
AND INDICATE ITS DISPLEASURE IF IT WISHES TO DO SO IN
CONNECTION WITH FUTURE GRANTS OF AID OR FMS CREDITS TO

TURKEY.

SO, I WOULD SAY THAT THERE WOULD CONTINUE TO BE AN OPPORTUNITY FOR CONGRESS TO EXPRESS ON AN ANNUAL BASIS ITS VIEWS WITH RESPECT TO PROGRESS ON CYPRUS.

SENATOR CASE: WE HAVE HAD AN EMBARGO, A LIMITED ONE, UNDER WHICH TURKEY WAS SUPPOSED TO NOT INCREASE ITS MILITARY OR CIVILIAN FORCES ON CYPRUS IN RECENT MONTHS. THEY HAVE BEEN IN FORCE IN THE LAW SINCE 1974. YET, YESTERDAY IN THE "NEW YORK TIMES" THERE WAS A REPORT THAT 30,000 MAINLAND TURKS HAVE BEEN RESETTLED IN CYPRUS SINCE 1974.

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WOULD YOU TELL US SOMETHING ABOUT THAT, PLEASE.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR CASE, I DID NOT SEE THE STORY YESTERDAY. BUT WITH RESPECT TO MILITARY FORCES ON CYPRUS, THEY REMAIN AT ABOUT A 30,000 LEVEL. A FEW HUNDRED HAVE BEEN DRAWN DOWN RECENTLY; BUT THAT LEVEL HAS REMAINED ABOUT THE SAME.

WITH RESPECT TO SETTLEMENTS IN CYPRUS, OUR INFORMATION IS THAT THERE HAS BEEN NO ORGANIZED PROGRAM OF SETTLEMENTS BY THE TURKS IN THE GREEK AREAS OF CYPRUS. SO, OUR INFORMATION SIMPLY WOULD BE DIFFERENT THAN THAT WHICH YOU HAVE QUOTED FROM YESTERDAY'S "NEW YORK TIMES."

SENATOR CASE: WELL, I AM NOT SURE THAT THERE IS AN IRRECONCILABLE DIFFERENCE. YOU QUALIFIED YOUR STATEMENT WHEN YOU SAID THAT THERE HAD BEEN NO "ORGANIZED" PROGRAM OF SETTLEMENT. BUT WHAT ABOUT THE UNORGANIZED PROGRAM OR THE FACT OF SETTLEMENT?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR CASE, I WOULD LIKE TO HAVE A CHANCE TO PROVIDE FURTHER INFORMATION TO YOU ON THAT SUBJECT.

BUT THE FACT IS, AS WE KNOW IT, THAT THE TURKS HAVE NOT DONE PARTICULARLY WELL ON CYPRUS. THE GREEKS HAVE PROSPERED A GREAT DEAL MORE IN THEIR ECONOMY AND IN THEIR DEVELOPMENTS ON CYPRUS OVER THE LAST SEVERAL YEARS THAN HAVE THE TURKS.

3. SEN. PELL: I SHARE A REAL INTEREST IN CYPRUS. I HAVE BEEN THERE PERSONALLY. I COME OUT WITH A CONCLUSION THAT

IS DIFFERENT, I AM AFRAID, FROM THAT OF THE WITNESSES WITH US TODAY.

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WHAT I SEE HERE IS, ONCE AGAIN, THE SUBORDINATION OF PRINCIPLE TO EXPEDIENCY.....

I THINK THE ESSENCE OF THE WHOLE PROBLEM IS IN THE CONTINUED ILLEGAL USE OF AMERICAN WEAPONS IN CYPRUS. THAT QUESTION HAS REALLY NOT BEEN FACED UP TO. AS SOON AS THOSE WEAPONS ARE WITHDRAWN, I THINK THEN WE SHOULD MOVE AHEAD. BUT AS LONG AS THEY ARE ILLEGALLY BEING USED IN THAT OCCUPATION, THAT IS THE KEY POINT. IF WE ARE GOING TO GO AHEAD WITH OTHER PROGRAMS, WE MUST FEEL THAT OUR LAW HAS CERTAIN TEETH.....

ABSOLUTELY NOTHING HAS CHANGED IN TERMS OF TURKEY'S OCCUPATION OF CYPRUS AND THE ILLEGAL USE OF OUR ARMS.

NOW, HOW CAN THE RULE OF LAW BE UPHELD IF WE NOW IGNORE THE LAW THAT LED TO THE ARMS CUTOFF IN THE FIRST PLACE?.... WHY SHOULD WE SUBORDINATE PRINCIPLE TO EXPEDIENCY AND PERMIT THE CONTINUED USE OF AMERICAN ARMS IN VIOLATION OF THAT AGREEMENT IN CYPRUS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR PELL, IT IS OUR BELIEF THAT WE HAVE MADE OUR POINT OF PRINCIPLE, THAT THE ENACTMENT OF THE EMBARGO AND ITS EFFECT OVER NEARLY A FOUR YEAR PERIOD HAS ESTABLISHED THAT COUNTRIES CANNOT, WITH IMPUNITY, VIOLATE THEIR BILATERAL RELATIONSHIPS WITH THE UNITED STATES.

WE THINK THERE COMES A TIME WHEN THE CARRYING FORWARD OF THAT KIND OF PUNITIVE ACTION BECOMES NO LONGER USEFUL AND INDEED BECOMES COUNTERPRODUCTIVE.

IN THIS CONNECTION, I THINK IT MIGHT BE USEFUL IF I CALLED LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ATTENTION TO THE COMMENT OF FORMER UNDER SECRETARY GEORGE BALL, WHO ADDRESSED THIS SUBJECT, PERHAPS FROM THE STANDPOINT OF THE IMPARTIALITY OF BEING OUT OF OFFICE, IN A LETTER THAT HE SENT TO THE COMMITTEE.

THIS IS WHAT FORMER UNDER SECRETARY BALL SAID:

"TO MY MIND, THERE IS NO DOUBT THAT BY WITHHOLDING ARMS

FROM TURKEY FOR FOUR YEARS, THE UNITED STATES HAS EMPHATICALLY ESTABLISHED THAT WE TAKE SERIOUSLY THE RESTRICTIONS WE IMPOSE ON THE USE OF SUCH ARMS. TURKEY HAS MADE CLEAR BY HER COMPLAINTS THAT THIS DENIAL HAS BEEN PAINFUL."

SO, I BELIEVE WE HAVE MADE OUR POINT OF PRINCIPLE, AND WE OUGHT NOW TO MOVE TO THE LARGER GOAL OF FINDING THE BEST TACTICS THAT WE CAN, SENATOR PELL, TO ACHIEVE A SETTLEMENT ON CYPRUS.

SENATOR PELL: YOU MENTIONED THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, CHARACTERIZED BY SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM AS USEFUL.

SECRETARY BROWN: "SUBSTANTIAL" I THINK WAS THE WORD.

SENATOR PELL: YES, "SUBSTANTIAL."

WHAT WAS THE EXACT PERCENTAGE OF LAND THAT WAS INVOLVED IN THAT WHICH TURKEY SAID IT WOULD CONSIDER TURNING BACK? MY RECOLLECTION IS THAT IT WAS 1 PERCENT. AM I WRONG?

SECRETARY BROWN: IT WAS NO MORE THAN A FEW PERCENT.

SENATOR PELL: WAS IT MORE THAN 1 PERCENT OF THE TOTAL AREA?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR PELL, WE DO NOT HAVE THE TURKISH PROPOSALS IN GREAT DETAIL; WE ARE DEALING FROM SUMMARIES LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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OF THEM.

OUR BEST INFORMATION IS THAT THE TURKISH PROPOSAL WOULD BRING THE LAND AREA DOWN FROM ABOUT 36 PERCENT, WHERE IT IS NOW, TO 32 PERCENT, A REDUCTION OF ABOUT 4 PERCENT.

IF I MAY, SENATOR, I WOULD LIKE TO GO A STEP FURTHER WITH RESPECT TO THE TURKISH PROPOSALS.

BOTH THE TURKS AND THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE STRESSED THAT THESE NEW PROPOSALS SHOULD BE VIEWED ONLY AS A STARTING POINT FOR THE TALKS. THEY ARE NOT, IN ANY CASE, THE OUTER NEGOTIATING LIMIT FOR THE TURKISH SIDE.

INDEED, THEY HAVE GIVEN STRONG ASSURANCES THAT THEY WILL APPROACH RENEWED TALKS WITH A FLEXIBLE ATTITUDE ON ALL OF THE ISSUES. THEY ARE PREPARED FOR A REAL DIALOGUE. ON THE KEY AND SENSITIVE ISSUE OF VAROSHA, WE HAVE BEEN INFORMED THAT THE TURKISH SIDE ENVISAGES THE RETURN OF 30,000 TO 35,000 GREEK CYPRIOT INHABITANTS OF THAT CITY,

WHICH COULD TAKE PLACE EVEN BEFORE A FINAL SETTLEMENT IS REACHED.

WE HAVE ALSO BEEN INFORMED THAT THE TURKISH CYPRIOT POSITION AS TO THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF THAT IMPORTANT

CITY OF VAROSHA IS NOT A RIGID ONE AND THAT THEY ARE QUITE READY TO CONSIDER VARIOUS ALTERNATIVES OR VARIOUS FORMULAE ONCE THE INTER-COMMUNAL TALKS ARE RECONVENED.

IT IS THOSE FACTORS, SENATOR PELL, WHICH I BELIEVE CAUSED THE SECRETARY GENERAL TO IDENTIFY THE PROPOSALS AS BEING CONCRETE AND SUBSTANTIVE, AND IT IS THAT FLEXIBILITY, THAT LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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LACK OF RIGIDITY, WHICH SEEMS TO US TO MAKE IT SO IMPORTANT THAT THE TALKS RECONVENE.

SENATOR PELL: AS A MATTER OF PRINCIPLE AND IN CONNECTION WITH HAVING SOME EFFECTIVENESS TO THE SANCTITY OF FUTURE AGREEMENTS THAT WE SIGN IN THIS REGARD, SHOULD THERE NOT BE A CONTINUED PRESSURE ON THE TURKS TO MOVE THEIR AMERICAN WEAPONS OUT OF CYPRUS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER:WE THINK IT WOULD BE VERY DESIRABLE TO HAVE SIGNIFICANT REDUCTIONS OF TURKISH TROOP LEVELS ON THE ISLAND. WE THINK THAT WOULD BE A POWERFUL IMPETUS TOWARD A SETTLEMENT. WE THINK THAT IN CONNECTION WITH PROGRESS ON A SETTLEMENT, THERE WILL BE THAT KIND OF WITHDRAWAL.

SENATOR MCGOVERN:WITH REGARD TO THE NEGOTIATING PRINCIPLES THAT THE TURKS HAVE PUT FORWARD TO MR. WALDHEIM, I REALIZE, MR. SECRETARY, THAT YOU SAID YOU HAVE NOT EXAMINED THAT PROPOSAL OR HAVEN'T SEEN THE SPECIFICS OF IT. BUT DO YOU KNOW ENOUGH ABOUT IT TO GIVE THE COMMITTEE THE ADMINISTRATION'S ASSESSMENT OF THE GENERAL PRINCIPLES THAT THE TURKS HAVE PUT FORWARD TO MR. WALDHEIM?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: THE PROPOSALS FALL INTO THREE GENERAL CATEGORIES. FIRST, THERE IS A TERRITORIAL PROPOSAL. THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS HAVE INDICATED A WILLINGNESS TO DISCUSS SIX OR SEVEN SPECIFIC AREAS. THEY HAVE SHOWN A RELUCTANCE TO DISCUSS PARTICULAR PERCENTAGES, BUT IT APPEARS FROM THE PROPOSALS THAT THEY WOULD REDUCE THE TURKISH ZONE FROM ABOUT 36 PERCENT TO 32 PERCENT.

NOW, IN THIS CONNECTION, THE TURKS HAVE STRESSED THEIR FLEXIBILITY.

SECOND, ON THE AREA OF VAROSHA, OR NEW FAMUGUSTA, THE PRO-
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POSAL WOULD PERMIT THE GREEK CYPRIOTS TO RETURN TO THAT
AREA. THE FUTURE POLITICAL STATUS OF THAT AREA IS OPEN TO
NEGOTIATION. UNDER THE PROPOSALS, IT APPEARS THAT APPROXI-
MATELY 30,000 TO 35,000 GREEKS COULD RETURN TO THE AREA,
EVEN WHILE THE NEGOTIATIONS ARE IN PROCESS.

FINALLY, THE THIRD LARGE CATEGORY IS THE CONSTITUTION.
SOME RATHER COMPREHENSIVE IDEAS WERE PUT FORWARD. A
FEDERAL STRUCTURE IS CLEARLY INVOLVED.

IN THE TURKISH PROPOSAL, THERE IS A RATHER HEAVY EMPHASIS
ON THE EQUALITY BETWEEN THE TWO STATES. THIS IS, NO DOUBT,
AN AREA WHERE THERE WILL HAVE TO BE SOME INTENSIVE NEGOTIATIONS.

THAT IS OUR BEST APPRAISAL OF THE PROPOSALS AS THEY PRE-
SENTLY STAND. BUT I WOULD EMPHASIZE AGAIN, AS THE TURKS
HAVE DONE TO US, THAT WHAT THEY HAVE SAID IS ONLY A START-
ING POINT AND NOT THE OUTER NEGOTIATING LIMITS.

SENATOR MCGOVERN: WELL, AS YOU KNOW, MR. SECRETARY, THE
GREEK CYPRIOTS HAVE REJECTED THE TURKISH PROPOSALS AS NOT
PROVIDING A PROPER BASIS FOR NEGOTIATION. HAS THERE BEEN
ANY REACTION FROM THE GOVERNMENT IN ATHENS?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR MCGOVERN, MAY I JUST MAKE A MINOR
CLARIFICATION IN WHAT YOU HAVE SAID? I BELIEVE THE GREEK
CYPRIOTS HAVE INDICATED THAT THEY THOUGHT THE PROPOSALS
WERE INADMISSIBLE, BUT THEY HAVE NOT COMPLETELY CLOSED THE
DOOR. PRESIDENT KYPRIANOU HAS LEFT AN OPENING TO INDICATE
THAT HE MIGHT BE WILLING TO RESUME DISCUSSIONS IF IT WERE
SO RECOMMENDED BY SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM. WE HOPE THAT
SECRETARY GENERAL WALDHEIM, WHO HAS TAKEN SUCH A DEEP IN-
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TEREST IN THIS, WILL TAKE THOSE STEPS.

4. SENATOR MCGOVERN: (ASKS FOR WITNESSES REACTION TO
PROPOSAL OUTLINED STATE 112288 PARA 6.)

MR. CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR MCGOVERN, ONE IS HESITANT TO COM-
MENT ON A REFINED AND ELABORATE PROPOSAL, CERTAINLY NOT
OFF THE CUFF.

I WOULD SAY TO YOU THAT THERE ARE MANY THINGS IN WHAT YOU HAVE SAID THAT WE COULD FULLY EMBRACE, AND WE WOULD BE GLAD TO HAVE AN OPPORTUNITY TO TALK WITH YOU, YOUR STAFF, OR THE COMMITTEE STAFF TO SEE IF WE COULD NOT FORMULATE A SET OF PRINCIPLES.

I DO THINK WE SHOULD STOP SHORT OF TRYING TO TELL THE PARTIES ON CYPRUS HOW TO SOLVE THAT VERY DIFFICULT HISTORIC SET OF PROBLEMS. I THINK THE UNITED STATES SHOULD OFFER ITS GOOD OFFICES, SHOULD ENCOURAGE THE SECRETARY GENERAL; BUT I THINK THAT WHATEVER PRINCIPLES WERE LAID DOWN OUGHT TO STOP SHORT OF PROVIDING A FORMULA OR SETTING OURSELVES

UP AS THE ARBITER OF HOW THE THING SHOULD COME OUT ON CYPRUS.

BUT SHORT OF THAT, SENATOR, I WOULD WELCOME AN OPPORTUNITY TO WORK WITH YOU AND WITH THE COMMITTEE ON STATING A SET OF PRINCIPLES AND PROVIDING FOR REGULAR REPORTS OF THE KIND YOU DESCRIBED.

5. SENATOR PERCY: MY QUESTION TO THE FOUR OF YOU WOULD SIMPLY BE THIS. IF PRESIDENT CARTER'S REQUEST BEFORE THIS COMMITTEE THIS MORNING IS APPROVED BY THIS COMMITTEE, WHAT IS THE JUDGMENT OF EACH OF YOU AS TO WHETHER OR NOT THE PROMPT AND ESSENTIALLY COMPLETE WITHDRAWAL OF (TURKISH) TROOPS FROM CYPRUS CAN BE ACCOMPLISHED.
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SECRETARY BROWN: I THINK THAT IT WILL NOT BE IMMEDIATE. I THINK THAT IT WILL MOVE THE NEGOTIATIONS FORWARD AND I THINK THAT THERE IS A REASONABLE EXPECTATION OF AN ULTIMATE RESOLUTION THAT WILL REMOVE THE TURKISH FORCES.

I AM CONVINCED THAT WITHOUT THIS MOVE, THE CHANCES OF A PROMPT TURKISH WITHDRAWAL OF ITS ARMED FORCES WITHOUT THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE EMBARGO ARE ABSOLUTELY ZERO AND THE CHANCES OF A NEGOTIATED SETTLEMENT LEADING TO THE WITHDRAWAL OF THE TURKISH ARMED FORCES FROM CYPRUS WILL BE SUBSTANTIALLY REDUCED.

SECRETARY CHRISTOPHER: SENATOR PERCY, OF COURSE WE DON'T KNOW ALL THE REASONS WHY THE GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY MAINTAINS THE SIZE FORCE THAT IT PRESENTLY DOES ON CYPRUS. THERE ARE HISTORICAL FEELINGS OF INSECURITY THAT PLAY A PART HERE.

IN OUR OWN ESTIMATE, A SUBSTANTIALLY SMALLER FORCE WOULD

APPEAR TO BE SUFFICIENT FOR THEIR PURPOSES.

PERHAPS THE MOST IMPORTANT THING THAT I CAN SAY IN RESPONSE TO YOUR QUESTION IS MY BELIEF, BASED UPON COMMENTS FROM THE TURKISH SIDE, THAT SUBSTANTIALLY ALL OF ITS FORCES, EXCEPT THOSE THAT WERE PERMITTED UNDER A SETTLEMENT ARRANGEMENT, WOULD BE WITHDRAWN UPON THE ACHIEVEMENT OF A SETTLEMENT. I THINK THE FORCES THERE ARE VERY HEAVY DRAIN ON THE TURKISH ECONOMY, WHICH IS IN DIFFICULTY, AND I THINK THEY WOULD LOOK FORWARD TO THE DAY WHEN A SETTLEMENT WOULD PERMIT THE WITHDRAWAL OF ALL OF ITS FORCES, EXCEPT THOSE WHICH WERE RETAINED THERE TO CARRY OUT THE GUARANTEES OF THE SETTLEMENT.

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6. SENATOR CLARK: MR. SECRETARY, AM I CORRECT IN INTERPRETING YOUR ANSWER TO SENATOR PERCY A FEW MOMENTS AGO AS MEANING THAT THE ADMINISTRATION AGREES THAT TURKEY'S CURRENT OCCUPATION OF PARTS OF CYPRUS IS INCONSISTENT WITH U.S. LAW? (PREVIOUS ANSWER DID NOT DIRECTLY ADDRESS THIS ISSUE.)

MR. CHRISTOPHER: WHAT I MEANT TO INDICATE, SENATOR CLARK, WAS THAT I DID NOT DISPUTE THE 1974 OPINION OF THE COMPTROLLER-GENERAL THAT THE USE OF U.S. EQUIPMENT BY THE TURKS AT THAT TIME WAS A VIOLATION OF THE AGREEMENT BETWEEN THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT AND THE UNITED STATES.

SENATOR CLARK: WHAT ABOUT THE PRESENT OCCUPATION?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: IN THE PRESENT OCCUPATION, SENATOR CLARK, WE DO NOT KNOW OF ANY TRANSFERS OF U.S. EQUIPMENT THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE TO THAT AREA IN RECENT TIMES. THUS, OUR VIEW WOULD HAVE TO REST ON THE 1974 SITUATION, RATHER THAN ON ANY TRANSFERS THAT HAVE TAKEN PLACE SINCE THAT TIME.

SENATOR CLARK: THE TRANSFER IN 1974, THEN, IS WHAT YOU ARE REFERRING TO?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: YES, SIR.

SENATOR CLARK: LET ME ASK YOU ANOTHER QUESTION WHICH IS MORE POLITICAL IN NATURE THAN IT IS TECHNICAL.

THE PROPONENTS OF REPEAL OF THE EMBARGO SOMETIMES ARGUE THAT ONE OF THE REASONS FOR REPEAL IS THAT THE TURKISH GOVERNMENT MIGHT INCREASINGLY TURN TOWARD THE SOVIET UNION FOR ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE OR MILITARY ASSISTANCE OR OTHER KINDS OF RELATIONSHIPS. YET, THE HISTORICAL FACTS AT LEAST

ARE THAT TURKEY HAS HAD A GREAT FEAR OF THE SOVIET UNION,
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AT LEAST AS FAR BACK AS THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY. THERE HAS
BEEN A TRADITIONAL ENMITY THERE.

WHAT KIND OF RELATIONSHIP DOES TURKEY HAVE WITH THE SOVIET
UNION TODAY? WHAT ARE THE DANGERS INVOLVED THERE, IF ANY.

SECRETARY BROWN: ON THE MILITARY SIDE, THERE HAS BEEN
PRACTICALLY NO MILITARY ASSISTANCE TO DATE. I GUESS IN
1971, THE SOVIETS SOLD TURKEY 1,200 TRUCKS FOR DOLS 6 MIL-
LION, AND SINCE 1974, TO THIS POINT, TURKEY HAS CONTINU-
OUSLY DENIED WHAT APPEAR TO BE SOVIET OFFERS, PRESUMABLY
FOR SALE, OF HELICOPTERS AND LIGHT AIRCRAFT.

I AGREE WITH YOU THAT THE TURKS AND THE RUSSIANS HAVE A
CENTURIES OLD HISTORICAL ADVERSARY RELATIONSHIP. YET,
TURKEY CANNOT HELP BUT BE IMPRESSED BY THE MILITARY STRENGTH
OF THE SOVIET UNION AND WANT TO AVOID WAR.

THE TURKISH APPROACHES HAVE BEEN TO TRY TO STABILIZE THE
RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIETS. I WOULD SAY THAT IT HAS NOT
BEEN ANY FALLING AWAY FROM THE NATO ALLIANCE, IT WOULD BE
MORE ANALOGOUS TO WHAT THE U.S. HAS CALLED DETENTE AND
TO WHAT THE FEDERAL REPUBLIC OF GERMANY WOULD CALL
"OSTPOLITIK."

IF TURKEY DESPAIRS OF ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH THE U.S., I
THINK THERE IS CERTAINLY A POSSIBILITY THAT IT WILL TURN
TO A CLOSER RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION. I DON'T
EXCLUDE THE POSSIBILITY OF A MILITARY SUPPLY RELATIONSHIP.
I THINK THAT WOULD COME HARD TO THE TURKS. BUT I THINK
THEY MIGHT BE DRIVEN TO IT IF THEY COULD NOT GET SUPPLIES
FROM OTHER NON-U.S. SOURCES.

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THERE IS A VERY SUBSTANTIAL ECONOMIC ASSISTANCE RELATION-
SHIP. TURKEY IS NOW A MAJOR RECIPIENT OF SOVIET ECONOMIC
AID IN THE FORM OF CREDITS, TECHNICAL ASSISTANCE, AND LOW
COST ELECTRICAL POWER. UNDER A 1976 AGREEMENT, THE SOVIETS
WILL PROVIDE OVER DOLS 1 BILLION IN NEW CREDITS TO FINANCE
CONSTRUCTION OF A COUPLE OF POWER PLANTS AND THEN AN OIL
REFINERY, AS WELL AS EXPANDING A STEEL COMPLEX.

I THINK THAT ECONOMIC RELATIONSHIPS ARE NOT SOMETHING THAT WE SHOULD CONSIDER AS ADVERSE TO OUR INTEREST. I THINK THAT MILITARY RELATIONSHIPS, TO WHICH, AS I SAY, THEY COULD CONCEIVABLY BE DRIVEN, ARE ANOTHER MATTER, AND I WOULD BE VERY CONCERNED ABOUT THOSE.

THE SOVIET CHIEF OF GENERAL STAFF, GENERAL OGARKOV JUST VISITED TURKEY. AGAIN, SUCH VISITS ARE BY THEMSELVES NOT A MAJOR FACTOR. BUT THEY DO INDICATE THAT THERE COULD BE A PROBLEM DEVELOPING THERE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW.

SENATOR CLARK: DO YOU HAVE ANYTHING TO ADD TO THAT, MR. SECRETARY?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: VERY LITTLE.

YOU ARE RIGHT ON YOUR HISTORY, AS YOU SO OFTEN ARE, SENATOR CLARK, AS TO THE HISTORIC SUSPICION BETWEEN THE TWO COUNTRIES.

I THINK THE POINT I WOULD WANT TO ADD TO WHAT SECRETARY BROWN HAS SAID IS THAT THERE ARE RELATIONSHIPS THAT ARE THIS SIDE OF A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN THE TURKS AND THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH COULD CAUSE REAL TROUBLE FOR THE FUTURE OF THE UNITED STATES IN THAT AREA. IT IS NOT SOLELY A MILITARY RELATIONSHIP WITH THE SOVIET UNION OF WHICH WE ARE APPREHENSIVE. FOR EXAMPLE, IF THE TURKS ADOPTED A NON-ALIGNED POSTURE, ONE IN WHICH THEY MOVED OUT OF THE NATO LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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ORBIT AND AWAY FROM THE UNITED STATES AND ITS ALLIES, THAT COULD HAVE AN EQUALLY SERIOUS IMPACT ON US BY REASON OF OUR BASES THERE AND BY REASON OF THE RELIANCE WE HAVE ON THE SOUTHERN FLANK OF NATO.

SO, I DON'T THINK YOU HAVE TO MAKE THE SOVIET CASE BY ANY MEANS, IN ORDER TO JUSTIFY THE REMOVAL OF THE EMBARGO.

7. SENATOR BIDEN: (AFTER A LENTHY PROLOGUE.)

I DON'T QUITE UNDERSTAND HOW OUR OVERALL SITUATION IN THE SOUTHEAST FLANK OF NATO REALLY HAS MUCH OF A CHANCE OF BECOMING BETTER AS A CONSEQUENCE OF THIS ACTION (LIFTING OF EMBARGO), IF, IN FACT, SOMETHING WILL CONTINUE WHICH CONTINUES NOW. THE REAL CRUX OF THE PROBLEM BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY ISN'T JUST CYPRUS. IT IS THE AEGEAN AND SOME LONG-STANDING DIFFICULTIES WHICH THEY HAVE HAD. TURKEY HAS ARRAYED A SIGNIFICANT PORTION OF ITS FORCE NOT ALONG THE RUSSIAN BORDER, BUT FACING GREECE, AND THEY HAVE A DIS-PROPORTIONATE PORTION OF THEIR FORCE IN CYPRUS.

WHAT IS TO INDICATE THAT ANY OF THAT WILL CHANGE?

FORGET CYPRUS FOR A MOMENT. WHAT IS TO INDICATE THAT
SETTLING EVEN THE CYPRUS QUESTION WILL MAKE ANY SIGNIFICANT
PROGRESS IN SETTLING THE OBVIOUSLY DIFFICULT RELATIONSHIPS
BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY NOW?

I THINK WHAT I AM SAYING IS IT SEEMS TO ME WE MAY BE JUMP-
ING OUT OF THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE, TO USE AN OLD
PROVERB, IN U.S. SECURITY INTEREST. THIS WOULD APPEAR ON
ITS FACE TO BE GETTING STRONGER, BUT IT IS NOT GETTING
STRONGER BECAUSE GREECE WOULD BE FORCED TO REACT IN A WAY
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SIMILAR TO THAT IN WHICH TURKEY REACTED, AND IN TURN, TUR-
KEY WILL CONTINUE TO ARRAY ITS MILITARY MIGHT IN THE DI-
RECTION OF GREECE, AND SO ON.

PERHAPS YOU COULD COMMENT ON THAT LITTLE LECTURE OF MINE.

AMBASSADOR CLIFFORD: SENATOR, WHEN YOU TALK ABOUT GOING
FROM THE FRYING PAN INTO THE FIRE, I BELIEVE WE ARE NOW IN

THE FIRE AND I WOULD LIKE TO GET BACK INTO THE FRYING PAN.

(GENERAL LAUGHTER.)

SENATOR BIDEN: YOU CAME TO THE RIGHT PLACE.

AMBASSADOR CLIFFORD: THE FACT IS THAT WE CAN SPEND THE
REST OF THE DAY, THE REST OF THE WEEK, OR THE REST OF THE
YEAR DEBATING ON WHAT THE POSSIBLE REACTION OF THE GREEK
GOVERNMENT MIGHT BE, OR OF THE GREEK PEOPLE, OR OF THE
GREEK CYPRIOTS, OR THE TURKISH CYPRIOTS, OR THE TURKISH
PEOPLE. THIS IS AN ENORMOUSLY AND INCREDIBLY INVOLVED AND
INTRICATE SET OF RELATIONSHIPS.

I BELIEVE THAT OUR JOINT RESPONSIBILITY IS TO SEE IF WE CAN
CUT THROUGH ALL OF THOSE VARIOUS CONSIDERATIONS AND DETER-
MINE WHAT KIND OF THREAT EXISTS TODAY TO THE SECURITY OF
THE AREA. IT IS VERY CLEAR TO ME WHAT THAT THREAT IS. THE
THREAT IS THAT THE MAJOR ANCHOR ON THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK
OF NATO IS NOT EQUIPPED TODAY TO MEET ITS NATO RESPONSI-
BILITY, AND THAT NATION IS TURKEY.

IT HAS THE LARGEST STANDING ARMY OF ANY ONE OF OUR NATO
ALLIES. THAT ARMY IS NOT PROPERLY EQUIPPED TODAY. THAT
AIR FORCE IS NOT PROPERLY EQUIPPED. IT LACKS THE SPARE
PARTS; IT LACKS THE NEW KINDS OF EQUIPMENT THAT WE CAN

SUPPLY TO HELP MODERNIZE ITS EQUIPMENT.

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I WOULD LIKE TO TRANSFER YOUR THINKING FROM THE SOUTHEASTERN FLANK OF NATO TO THE NORTHERN END OF NATO. IF, FOR SOME REASON, NORWAY AND RELATED COUNTRIES AT THAT END OF THE NATO LINE BEGAN TO DETERIORATE BADLY, WE WOULD BE VERY CONCERNED OVER POSSIBLE WARSAW PACT PRESSURES THAT MIGHT COME AT THAT END.

WE HAVE SPENT 30 YEARS, SENATOR, CAREFULLY GAUGING THE RESPECTIVE STRENGTHS OF OUR ALLIES IN NATO AND HELPING THEM KEEP UP THEIR RESPONSIBILITIES. SO, I SAY THAT WHEN WE CLEARLY SEE THAT ONE OF THE MAJOR NATO ALLIES IS NOT DETERIORATING IN ITS MILITARY RESPONSIBILITY, WE REALLY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO DO WHATEVER IS NECESSARY TO BUILD THAT ALLY UP SO THAT IT CAN DO ITS JOB. IT IS MY FEELING THAT IF WE DO MEET THE PRESENT NEEDS THAT TURKEY HAS, I BELIEVE WE ASSURE TURKEY'S CONTINUED SENSE OF RESPONSIBILITY TO THE WEST. I THINK WE ASSURE HER CONTINUED PARTICIPATION IN NATO.

I MUST SAY TO YOU THAT I HAVE GREAT DIFFICULTY IN UNDER-

STANDING FROM A LOGICAL STANDPOINT WHY THE GREEKS OBJECT TO THAT. I KNOW WHY THEY DO FORM A SENTIMENTAL AND EMOTIONAL STANDPOINT. BUT I SUGGEST TO YOU, SENATOR, THAT THE MOST DANGEROUS POSTURE THAT GREECE COULD BE PUT INTO TODAY WOULD BE IF TURKEY WITHDREW FROM THE NATO ALLIANCE. IT WOULD EXPOSE GREECE IN A MANNER THAT I THINK WOULD BE A GREAT SURPRISE AND A GREAT SHOCK AND A MATTER OF THE DEEPEST CONCERN TO ALL OF THE NATO ALLIES.

SO, I SAY THAT WHAT WE MUST DO IS MEET THAT RESPONSIBILITY. IT IS MY BELIEF THAT THE WISER HEADS IN GREECE WILL SEE THE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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NEED FOR TURKEY TO BE BUILT UP SO THAT IT CAN MEET ITS CONCERNS ON NATO.

I THINK AT THE SAME TIME WE ARE NOT PLAYING FAVORITES. THE TURKISH NEED IS INFINITELY GREATER THAN THE GREEK NEED. WE ARE ALLOWING DOLS 175 MILLION OF FMS CREDITS TO TURKEY AND DOLS 140 MILLION OF THOSE SAME CREDITS TO GREECE.

TO RECAPITULATE, I THINK WE MUST FACE THE STARK REALITY THAT OUR NATO AREA IN ONE SECTION IS BELOW PAR TO MEET ITS RESPONSIBILITY. I THINK WE HAVE ONLY ONE MOVE TO MAKE AND THAT IS TO CORRECT THAT CONDITION.

SENATOR SARBANES:AM I TO UNDERSTAND THAT THE DEPARTMENT DOES NOT KNOW THE NATURE OF THE TURKISH PROPOSALS THAT WERE SUBMITTED IN VIENNA TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: WE HAVE SEEN AN OUTLINE OF THEM, SENATOR, BUT THE PROPOSALS WERE HANDED TO THE SECRETARY GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS, KURT WALDHEIM, AND TO THE GREEK CYPRIOTS, AND WE HAVE NOT SEEN A FULL STATEMENT. WE HAVE ONLY SEEN A SUMMARY OF THE PROPOSALS.

EARLIER TODAY, PERHAPS WHEN YOU WERE NOT ABLE TO BE IN THE ROOM, I GAVE A SUMMARY OF OUR UNDERSTANDING OF THEIR PRINCIPAL CONTENT. I DON'T THINK THAT IS FAR OFF THE MARK. BUT ON YOUR SPECIFIC QUESTION, NO, I HAVE NOT SEEN THE DETAILED PROPOSALS.

SENATOR SARBANES: THE "LONDON ECONOMIST", IN ITS ISSUE OF APRIL 22, SAID THE FOLLOWING: "BUT IF THE AMERICAN ADMINISTRATION HAD IMAGINED THE LONG-DELAYED TURKISH PROPOSALS ON CYPRUS WOULD BE LARGE ENOUGH TO PERSUADE CONGRESS THAT MR. ECEVIT'S GOVERNMENT WAS SET ON A CONCILIATORY COURSE, IT WILL BE DISAPPOINTED. BY NO STRETCH OF THE IMAGINATION CAN THEY BE DESCRIBED AS DEALING WITH CYPRUS IN A CONCRETE LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

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AND SUBSTANTIAL WAY, AS MR. WALDHEIM WAS PERSUADED TO SAY

AFTER HE RECEIVED THEM IN VIENNA ON APRIL 13."

OF COURSE, THE SECRETARY GENERAL'S OFFICE HAS SINCE ISSUED A STATEMENT IN WHICH IT SAID THAT THAT COMMENT CANNOT BE INTERPRETED AS EXPRESSING A JUDGMENT ON THE MERITS OF THE TURKISH CYPRIOT PROPOSALS.

WHAT WAS THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION TO THE PROPOSAL? WAS IT JUBILATION OR DISAPPOINTMENT?

MR. CHRISTOPHER: HOW DID THE DEPARTMENT REACT TO THE PROPOSAL--IS THAT YOUR QUESTION?

SENATOR SARBANES: I ASKED WHAT WAS THE DEPARTMENT'S REACTION. OF COURSE, YOU DON'T NECESSARILY HAVE TO USE MY OPTIONS, BUT I DID GIVE YOU A COUPLE -- JUBILATION OR DISAPPOINTMENT.

MR. CHRISTOPHER: I THINK THE DEPARTMENT FELT THAT THE PROPOSALS WERE A USEFUL STARTING POINT FOR THE NEGOTIATION; THAT THEY WERE NOT, AS THE TURKS THEMSELVES SAID, THE OUTER NEGOTIATING LIMIT, BUT THAT THEY PROVIDED ENOUGH SUBSTANCE SO THAT THE PARTIES COULD GET TOGETHER AND GET DOWN TO THE HARD NEGOTIATING AT THE TABLE WHICH WOULD PRODUCE A DRAWING TOGETHER, WHICH IS USUALLY THE FOUNDATION OF ALL AGREEMENTS. VANCE

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Message Attributes

Automatic Decaptioning: Z
Capture Date: 01 jan 1994
Channel Indicators: n/a
Current Classification: UNCLASSIFIED
Concepts: TEXT, FOREIGN RELATIONS, US CONGRESSIONAL HEARINGS, FOREIGN POLICY POSITION
Control Number: n/a
Copy: SINGLE
Draft Date: 12 may 1978
Decaption Date: 20 Mar 2014
Decaption Note: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Action: RELEASED
Disposition Approved on Date:
Disposition Case Number: n/a
Disposition Comment: 25 YEAR REVIEW
Disposition Date: 20 Mar 2014
Disposition Event:
Disposition History: n/a
Disposition Reason:
Disposition Remarks:
Document Number: 1978STATE121029
Document Source: CORE
Document Unique ID: 00
Drafter: GWCHAPMAN:LB
Enclosure: n/a
Executive Order: N/A
Errors: N/A
Expiration:
Film Number: D780201-0364
Format: TEL
From: STATE
Handling Restrictions:
Image Path:
ISecure: 1
Legacy Key: link1978/newtext/t19780563/aaaacbv.x.tel
Line Count: 1476
Litigation Code IDs:
Litigation Codes:
Litigation History:
Locator: TEXT ON-LINE, ON MICROFILM
Message ID: 7334969f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Office: ORIGIN EUR
Original Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Original Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Original Previous Classification: n/a
Original Previous Handling Restrictions: n/a
Page Count: 27
Previous Channel Indicators: n/a
Previous Classification: LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
Previous Handling Restrictions: ONLY
Reference: 78 STATE 88830, 78 STATE 89227, 78 STATE 89228
Retention: 0
Review Action: RELEASED, APPROVED
Review Content Flags:
Review Date: 05 may 2005
Review Event:
Review Exemptions: n/a
Review Media Identifier:
Review Release Date: N/A
Review Release Event: n/a
Review Transfer Date:
Review Withdrawn Fields: n/a
SAS ID: 2705718
Secure: OPEN
Status: NATIVE
Subject: ADMINISTRATION TESTIMONY ON GREECE, TURKEY AND CYPRUS BEFORE SFRC LIMITED OFFICIAL USE
TAGS: PEPR, MASS, GR, TU, CY
To: ATHENS ANKARA MULTIPLE
Type: TE
vdkgvwkey: odb://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/7334969f-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
Review Markings:
Sheryl P. Walter
Declassified/Released
US Department of State
EO Systematic Review
20 Mar 2014
Markings: Sheryl P. Walter Declassified/Released US Department of State EO Systematic Review 20 Mar 2014